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DOI:

[10.2979/histperf.1.1.08](https://doi.org/10.2979/histperf.1.1.08)

Document Version

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Citation for published version (APA):

Wilson, N. (2018). What's the Problem? Cultural Capability and Learning from Historical Performance. *Historical Performance*, 1(0), 190-212. <https://doi.org/10.2979/histperf.1.1.08>

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What's the Problem? Cultural Capability and Learning from Historical Performance

Abstract

One might say that the twentieth century early music movement was a solution to a problem. From a musicological perspective, it was the problem of how to perform old music. From a broader cultural perspective, it was the problem of overcoming an otherwise hegemonic approach to classical music and how it *should* be done. Fast-forwarding to the present day, historical performance (HP) continues to delight and enchant; but there are yet more riches to be harvested from the story of how those involved in HP made it happen with such impact and long-lasting success. For this is an inspirational tale of a group of people realizing the opportunity to co-create their own version of culture. This is what I term 'cultural capability', and it represents the central and distinctive idea around which this paper's discussion is framed.

The approach taken draws on Amartya Sen's and Martha Nussbaum's foundational work on capabilities and the Capabilities Approach, which asks 'What is each person actually able to do and to be?' The notion of *cultural* capability challenges us to better understand the nature of our cultural opportunities, and the extent to which every individual can play an active role in co-creating culture(s). In this paper the explanatory focus moves beyond the individual as I address how those involved in early music collectively co-created the version of culture we now refer to as HP. Four distinctive themes stand-out as important: HP's underlying tendency to pose problems rather than deposit answers; the central significance of historical reflexivity; the ability to operate across well-established divides with 'real authenticity'; and, a relational approach in which historical performance re-connects human nature with the natural phenomenon of music.

For today's HP educators the pedagogic challenge is, of course, about readying the next generation to produce wonderful historically informed performances; but it is more than this – as we can, and should also apply these lessons of cultural capability to the serious problems that are currently impacting music education, employment and engagement. This, I suggest, requires embracing an ethos of 'not knowing'; practicing the self-same historical reflexivity that is prized so highly within HP; operating skillfully across established disciplinary boundaries – notably performance, scholarship and commerce; and ensuring that music is valued, once again, as a collectively produced natural human good. Re-appraising HP as a paradigmatic case of cultural capability reveals vital lessons for performing music, doing creativity, being entrepreneurial, making culture, and enabling human flourishing. In all these contexts, it seems, we still have much to learn from history.

Introduction

The term 'culture' has famously been described as 'one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language'.¹ At least three dominant usages have gained common currency - i) as a general process of intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic development; ii) as a particular way of life, whether of a people, a period, a group, or humanity in general; and iii) as a description of the works and practices of intellectual and especially artistic activity,

¹ Raymond Williams, "Moving from High Culture to Ordinary Culture," in *Convictions*, ed. N. McKenzie (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1958).

including music, literature, painting and sculpture, theatre, film, and so on. All three of these usages are embraced by a conceptualization of culture as the ever-present conditions and emergent outcomes of our individual and collective giving form and value to our experiences; it is this theorization that underpins my work on cultural capability.² I believe that everyone should be entitled to this freedom or opportunity to give form and value to their experiences – and thereby co-create versions of culture. It is only when this ‘substantive’ freedom is realized in relation to culture – real, concrete freedoms to choose what culture to make, as well as what culture to appreciate – that people are genuinely empowered in their cultural lives. The reality is that this is *not* currently a freedom enjoyed by everyone.

So what has this to do with historical performance (HP)? Well, it turns out – a great deal. For over and above being a vibrant cultural movement that has opened up a vast repertoire of ‘old’ music, transforming how we perform, listen to, and think about music from other eras, HP (otherwise referred to as Early Music; or HIP) offers us an insightful historical case study in cultural capability. My unfolding argument is that HP (today) has been achieved by a group of people, often labeled as early music’s ‘pioneers’, giving form and value to their experiences; these pioneers, together with many (invisible) others, shaped and held open a space for creativity, asked difficult questions, forged new liaisons and networks, and together co-created a new version of culture.³ My focus will be to answer two main questions:

- How did *they* do it?
- What are the lessons *we* can learn to apply to our own musical culture today?

In a geo-historical context where deep-seated questions of value and authenticity abound, I am bound to ask - what are the difficult questions being raised by HP today? Who is committing to what? What do we expect from our professional musicians? In short, we need to cast our reflexivity wider than ‘the music’ itself (though this remains central), and explore some important interdisciplinary cultural and sociological questions (and answers) that HP affords.

What was ‘the problem’?

It is easy to take HP for granted today. We are familiar with applying it as shorthand for a particular approach to the performance of classical music, where its interpretative tradition has been interrupted or lost. But more than this, HP has effectively become the default approach to performing much classical music, and its core principles are to be found in the performance of a huge range of repertoire, including late-20th century works (hence the label ‘early music’ being all-but dropped in many places). But where did this modern phenomenon of HP come from? Cutting a long story short, the classical music profession with its traditions derived extensively from ideas, beliefs, and practices developed during the 19th century, had become stuck, and performance innovations were increasingly constricted. For those performers (and musicologists) drawn into the ‘early music movement’, the culture of musical performance was essentially a hegemonic one, where moving beyond 19th century

² The term ‘cultural capability’ was introduced in relation to research of the ‘Get Creative’ campaign, which, commissioned by the BBC and other leading arts organizations, began in February 2015 as ‘a celebration of the world-class arts, culture and creativity that happens every day’ whilst also ‘showcasing the enormous range of diversity and creativity across the UK’.

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/articles/3P7n390cZc3VBpn7cPn0F5T/about-get-creative> [accessed 23rd November, 2016]. See Nick Wilson, Jonathan Gross, and Anna Bull, *Towards Cultural Democracy: Promoting Cultural Capabilities for Everyone* (London: King’s College London, 2017).

³ It needs to be stressed that my reference to ‘a culture’ of HP (in the singular) is not to be read as signifying a unified culture; there are certainly cultures within cultures in the context of HP, as elsewhere.

thinking (passed on through the generations from master to apprentice within the music ‘conservatoire’ system) was the norm.

HP can be understood as a contextualized response to the ‘situational restrictions’ of classical music as experienced by its protagonists. For these performers working in the 1960s and early 70s, it was becoming a ‘helpless situation’, where they felt at the limit or the edge.⁴ There was both a lack of applied knowledge and skills (historical musicology, knowledge of performance conventions etc.) and a lack of resources (original instruments; motivated and trained musicians; development time) to perform early classical music repertoire as they believed it should be performed. Highly trained classical musicians experienced an ‘agitated immobility’ or ‘lack of play range (*Spielraum*)’.⁵ Such was the ‘guild-like’ reinforcement of classical music’s rules of engagement that the question of how earlier musicians had performed music was not just a non-question, but any deviation from the established norm was positively discouraged.

At issue here is the artistic freedom – the ‘autonomy’ of musicians to approach music in the ways they wished. Here it is important to recognize that the performance of music, professionally or otherwise, is deeply embedded in a socio-economic context. Up until the late 18th century the reality for musicians was limited autonomy (at best). Composers and musicians were reliant on patronage from church, court and the aristocracy. With the ascendancy of bourgeois culture art began to lose its direct function in society; musicians were ‘freed’ to produce music that embodied their own values. This was a gradual process of change. Prior to a viable market alternative, for example, Mozart struggled to break away from the system of low status in-house subservience to Royal courts in favor of the position of freelance self-employment.⁶ Fast-forward to the latter half of the twentieth century and we can usefully understand the reality facing musicians (performers and composers) in terms of Theodor Adorno’s diagnosis of the necessary ‘dialectical’ opposition existing between artistic autonomy and commodification.⁷ Such is the backdrop to very real concerns about the artistic and economic autonomy of those involved.

The ‘need’ to co-create a new culture of HP has many contributory causes, of course, and my intention is not to review this comprehensively here; but central to the story was indeed the response to a perceived lack of freedom in being able to co-create one’s own version of culture, i.e., what I term cultural capability. The historical development HP is a story of a group of people who somehow created an opportunity and followed it through. How they did this is the focus of attention in the next section.

How did the pioneers of HP co-create a (new) version of culture?

I have chosen to focus on four key themes that warrant particular attention. I am by no means suggesting that these represent an exhaustive explanation of ‘what counts’. My approach is skewed towards a sociological perspective, but it goes without saying that there are

⁴ See Paolo, J. Knill, “Foundations for a Theory of Practice,” in *Principles and Practice of Expressive Arts Therapy. Towards a Therapeutic Aesthetics*, ed. Paolo, J. Knill, Ellen, G. Levine, and Stephen, K. Levine, 75-170. (London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 2005) for further discussion of these ideas.

⁵ Knill, *Principles and Practice of Expressive Arts Therapy. Towards a Therapeutic Aesthetics*, 78.

⁶ See Norbert Elias, *Mozart: Portrait of a Genius* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); also Tia DeNora, *Beethoven and the Construction of Genius: Musical Politics in Vienna, 1792-1803* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995) on what she terms Beethoven’s ‘threshold’ moment.

⁷ Theodor Adorno, *Negative Dialectics*, trans. F. Ashton (London: Routledge, 1973).

foundational musicological issues here too (discussed extensively elsewhere). The four themes, which collectively provide a generative framework for thinking more broadly about HP, are as follows:

1. Problem-posing
2. Historical reflexivity
3. Real authenticity
4. Relational

When learning from the past we need to exercise caution lest ‘what worked’ back then is simply lifted into a contemporary context and expected to repeat its trick now. The context of the HP story in the late 1960s, for example (which is when I have argued that the modern revival of early music really ‘took off’ in Britain at least), is wildly different to that of today. It must further be stressed that there was not one single ‘approach’ to co-creating a new version of (musical performance) culture; but I do think there was a *sharing* of values.

One further thought before looking at each of the four themes in turn is that each might be interpreted otherwise. In some regards, what I am arguing *for* here might be taken and used in evidence *against* the HP movement (as we’ll see with Richard Taruskin’s critique in particular). I would characterize this as a dialectical feature of the analysis being offered. This is not a simple list of features to reel off when seeking to co-create a (new) version of culture; but rather the introduction of some centrally relevant points of contention to be considered carefully, each on their merits, and always in context.

1. *Problem-posing*

So, the first theme I am highlighting is what I refer to as the ‘problem-posing’ nature of the HP movement. This might appear odd at first. Wasn’t it the case that HP pioneers diagnosed the problem – in so far as something had to change – and then were remarkable in providing a solution that was not just ‘in theory’, but ‘in practice’? Might we not better characterize their actions in terms of the strong beliefs they held that their approach was justified, necessary, enlightening, enjoyable ... and made great music? In this sense, their actions are born of certainty rather than uncertainty? Well, some might argue this to be so. But to the extent that what the HP pioneers were doing was something ‘new’ (and valuable), those involved did *not* know how to do it, nor could they; and as a consequence they were forced to explore and pose problems.

The specific formulation of words here owes much to a renowned thinker from the discipline of education – Paulo Freire. Freire’s landmark publication was *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, written in 1966 and first published widely in 1970. It thus offers a theoretical viewpoint at the very same time as the modern HP movement was developing. Whilst its focus was overtly directed towards national development in Third World countries, the content of its message has universal appeal and significance and is focused on ‘humanistic’ and ‘liberated’ education. In particular, Freire contrasts the ‘banking’ concept of education – in which education becomes an ‘act of depositing’,⁸ with a ‘problem-posing’ approach – where ‘people develop their power to perceive critically *the way they exist* in the world *with which* and *in*

⁸ Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (London: Penguin, 1970), 53.

which they find themselves; they come to see the world not as a static reality, but as a reality in process, in transformation.’⁹

Freire argues that the banking approach mirrors oppressive society as a whole, whereby the teacher teaches and the students are taught; the teacher knows everything and the students know nothing; the teacher talks and the students listen – meekly; the teacher chooses and enforces his choice, and the students comply; the teacher confuses the authority of knowledge with his or her own professional authority, which she and he sets in opposition to the freedom of the students; and so on.¹⁰ As Freire rather memorably remarks ‘...there are innumerable well-intentioned bank-clerk teachers who do not realize that they are serving only to dehumanize’.¹¹

‘Problem-posing education’, on the other hand, recognizes and affirms the ‘incompleteness’ and ‘historical’ nature of human beings. Freire describes it as ‘prophetic (and, as such, hopeful)’, and as ‘revolutionary futurity’.¹² Above all else (especially in the context of this paper’s enquiry), he emphasizes the dialogic nature of this kind of education, where teachers and students learn from each other, and he suggest that education is ‘the practice of freedom’ as opposed to ‘the practice of domination.’¹³

The relevance of this conceptualization of opposing pedagogical approaches will not be lost to anyone familiar with the tide of debate that accompanied HP’s development during the 1980s and 1990s. Early music’s ‘detractors’ might well suggest that HP pioneers were introducing what amounted to a ‘banking’ model of musical (education) practice. The ‘scholar-performer’ is parodied as someone more interested in preserving the past according to rules laid down in a dusty old treatise, than in bringing a long-forgotten piece of music back to life. ‘All this music-making by the book is a bit pitiful...for all I know their players may take a pinch of snuff during the pauses before the last chords.’¹⁴ The crux of Richard Taruskin’s argument was that ‘Historically authentic practices...embodied a whole wish list of modern(ist) values, validated in the academy and the marketplace alike by an eclectic, opportunistic reading of historical evidence’.¹⁵ Early music performers were charged with holding an idealized (modernist and overly-dogmatic) notion of the musical work that turned ideas into objects, and put objects in place of people.¹⁶ For Taruskin, therefore, the ‘authenticity movement’ most certainly had something of the banking model about it. But I want to argue for a more positive reading, in keeping with Freire’s conception of ‘liberating’ education as consisting in acts of cognition, not transferrals of information.’¹⁷ For it is this which I believe most faithfully represents the contribution of those involved in terms of creating and holding open a problem-posing opportunity space for creativity (where *not* knowing and playing are vital).

⁹ Ibid., 64.

¹⁰ Ibid., 54.

¹¹ Ibid., 56.

¹² Ibid., 65.

¹³ Ibid., 62.

¹⁴ Paul Henry Lang quoted in Nicholas Kenyon, ed., *Authenticity and Early Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 5.

¹⁵ Richard Taruskin, *Text & Act* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 5.

¹⁶ Nick Wilson, *The Art of Re-enchantment: Making Early Music in the Modern Age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 40.

¹⁷ Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, 60.

The characteristic creativity of HP is undoubtedly most apparent in its performances; but we also catch sight of the creative intentions of those involved in rarer (public) critical reflections: for example, The Academy of Ancient Music's founder, Christopher Hogwood, remarked that '[a]lthough the whole world thought that this type of music-making had a musicological foundation, the very opposite was the case: we had to do a lot on 'feeling', because there was insufficient basis and definite proof of the way in which music was made in the middle ages.'¹⁸ Elsewhere, musician and academic John Potter candidly observes 'The fact is, we all made it up.'¹⁹

2. *Historical Reflexivity*

The second theme I wish to focus on is 'historical reflexivity'. It is, of course, a truism to suggest that HP has required those involved being historically reflexive. Historical performance is *only* historical performance, after all, if those involved are at least to some extent aware of the historical context within which the music they are performing was composed and originally performed. In so far as my interest in this paper is to better understand HP as a case-study in cultural capability – how those involved were able to co-create a 'new' version of culture – my highlighting this theme is not so much about 'looking back' in history and asking questions about where we have come from (though this is always of value), but rather to highlight the particular temporal sequence of how the culture of HP developed.²⁰ For what we can see is a process in which first, the 'unfamiliar' (Medieval and Renaissance repertoires) was made 'familiar' – with performances of such music being made available often for the first time to many audiences; and then, later, the 'familiar' (high Baroque and later repertoires) was made 'unfamiliar' – by being performed in an 'authentic' manner, on original instruments, such as audiences had not heard before.

I believe that this overall sequencing of events – albeit one that, of course, simplifies and generalizes (across both temporal and spatial axes), and which was not *consciously* taken by anyone involved – may reveal an important clue as to how to go about overcoming an otherwise constrained and constraining hegemonic cultural context. For it is through the radical 'othering' of the cultural norm (in this case the introduction of Medieval and Renaissance musical repertoire) that those involved could without undue threat to the status quo leverage the purchase necessary to gain some creative space or *spielraum*, and so begin to afford change. Once the HP performers had gained a position in the field they were better able to then undertake the subversive strategy of a 'return to the sources', a means of 'beating the dominant groups [i.e. the existing classical music profession] at their own game'.²¹ This they did under the label of 'authenticity' – by performing Bach, Handel, Haydn and so on (the canonical repertoire of classical music) in a manner that was *more* Bach, Handel and Haydn than 'traditional' or 'modern' performances. The discourse of authenticity took the spotlight off the performer and back on to the artistic and aesthetic credentials of the composer - from whence springs the legitimacy of the cultural field. In the context of cultural production, where the economic is 'disavowed', early musicians were effectively (albeit

¹⁸ From an interview for *Opernwelt* (1984):

<http://www.hogwood.org/archive/interviews/opernwelt-interview-1984.html> [accessed 14th August, 2017].

¹⁹ Potter, John (no date) 'Early music', from John Potter's website:

<http://www.john-potter.co.uk/blog/category/early-music/> [accessed 22nd February, 2011].

²⁰ As elsewhere, I am basing this on my knowledge of the British early music movement, as explored in Wilson, 2014; I fully concede that a US or continental European focus might direct us to a different, albeit related, trajectory.

²¹ These terms are taken from Bourdieu's (1993) analysis of the *The Field of Cultural Production*.

tacitly) arguing that their performance practices were *more* legitimate than the mainstream, and therefore needed to be taken seriously by the field of classical music production.

3. *Real Authenticity*

Over and above what I have just argued for in terms of the label ‘authenticity’ it is a term that now has dramatically reduced capital within HP circles. Whilst it may not be regularly appealed to any more in respect of the musical practices involved in historical performance, I suggest that we can, and should, give it serious consideration in the context of this case study of HP as cultural capability. For my contention is that first and foremost amongst the themes I am highlighting in this paper, it has been precisely ‘the human capacity to reconcile the apparently irreconcilable on an ongoing everyday basis’ – what I term ‘real authenticity’²² – that has enabled those involved to make HP the cultural phenomenon it is today. Contrary to the critiques that portray HP as dogmatic, modernist and so on, I aver that what has really characterized HP has been the phronetic wisdom required of those involved to work with both head and heart; old and new; self and other; scholar and performer; practitioner and entrepreneur; amateur and professional; and so on. My take on real authenticity therefore embraces several aspects. First, this reconciliation of apparent opposites; second, the capacity to hold a dialogue with the ‘other’; and third, what might be thought of in terms of pragmatic idealism. This reconciles the entrepreneurial capacity to organize tasks and make things happen with holding on to artistic, aesthetic, political, moral (etc.) ideals. Incidentally, it is just this real authenticity which might also help us understand the apparent disconnect between the creative practice of early music pioneers and what they (or those on their behalf in the recording industry) said they were doing. My suggestion is that rather than seeing this as a case of theory-practice inconsistency, and therefore *inauthenticity*, we might give them the benefit of doubt, and explain their actions in terms of real authenticity.

Another way of thinking about real authenticity is in terms of self actualization through mutuality (rather than through the market or money alone). Two forms of mutuality are worth highlighting here – characterized by breadth and depth. At the level of *breadth* it was working with other ‘non-musicians’ or at least those for whom performing wasn’t their primary occupation (the majority of producers in the BBC’s Music Department, for example, were university-trained musicologists – ‘scholar-performers’ as opposed to ‘performer-scholars’). Putting on concerts, laying down recordings, building careers – this is where real authenticity meets cultural entrepreneurship. There remains a palpable disquiet about entrepreneurship in music.²³ However, much of this ill ease is misplaced, and sustains a truth in practice based on a falsity in theory. I would like to argue that entrepreneurship, both properly understood and properly practiced, is the process of realizing a creative (i.e. novel and valuable) project.²⁴ To this extent practicing HP (music, and indeed art in general) is tendentially entrepreneurial. Furthermore, as we saw with the pioneers of HP, it does *not* require a wholesale caving in to ‘economic reality’. Rather *pragmatic idealism* is about

²² Wilson, *The Art of Re-enchantment*, 211.

²³ See Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993); Dawn Weatherston, “Nascent Entrepreneurship and Music Students,” in *Dialogues in Art and Design: Promoting and Sharing Excellence*, ed., David Clews, 50-57 (York: ADM-HEA/GLAD, 2009); Nick Wilson, Jonathan Gross, and Anna Bull, *Towards Cultural Democracy: Promoting Cultural Capabilities for Everyone* (London: King’s College London, 2017).

²⁴ See Nick Wilson and Lee Martin, “Entrepreneurial Opportunities for All? Entrepreneurial Capability and the Capabilities Approach,” *The International Journal of Entrepreneurship and Innovation* 16, no. 3 (2015), 159-169, doi: <https://doi.org/10.5367/ijei.2015.0189>.

balancing the competing forces of artistic autonomy and economic reality. Our capacity to do this successfully, in an imperfect world, is a mark of real authenticity.

At the level of *depth* self-actualization through mutuality involved working across spectrums of skill, proficiency, interest, motivation, quality and excellence. This brings us to the uneasy distinction between amateurs and professionals. Though characterized as an ideological movement born out of a scholarly obsession with recreating the past, early music appealed to amateur musicians, not least because it offered an exciting ‘new’ world of sound. There was the possibility of getting close-up and personal with the fascinating instruments that produced these sounds. Amateur musicians quickly found themselves being able to ‘join in’, as copies of old instruments became increasingly widely available, through the likes of The Early Music Shop. Before long it was possible for enthusiasts to construct affordable historical instruments from DIY kits, encouraging an even closer allegiance with this form of music making. Such early adopters of early music were central to its subsequent success - forming its audience and fan-base, though ironically also hastening its subsequent professionalization and inevitable closure in terms of repertoire covered.

There is no doubt that the 20th-century early music revival owes much of its initial success to its ability to embrace the amateur musician (performer, musicologist, and instrument maker). Arguably, this is just one particular facet of HP’s distinctive capacity for real authenticity – to join up rather than to separate. Early musicians have been required to overcome many things, including unbridgeable barriers to past traditions and performance practices, and a fallible knowledge of composers’ intentions. They have had to rely on working with instrument-makers, scholars, musicologists, record company executives, and, yes, amateurs (in the best sense of the word).

4. *Relational*

My final theme links closely to the notion of real authenticity, but here brings to the fore the relational nature of HP. I explore this across four different levels. The first concerns what might be thought of as our relationship with ourselves. Here, in particular, I am keen to move away from the neoliberal ‘self’, and frame the HP pioneers’ collective activities in terms of what Christian Smith describes as a ‘personalist’ theory.²⁵ Smith writes, ‘...all adequate understandings of human life must take seriously the fact that human beings are *persons* and not something else.’²⁶ Broadening this to a wider level – our relations with each other – Smith goes on to observe that as ‘natural-goods-seeking persons’ we are motivated to realize natural human goods: ends that are, by nature, constitutionally good for all human beings. Certainly, I believe that the motivation was *not* primarily career; money; other extrinsic reward; prestige; dogma; shock; promotion, etc. but to realize music as a natural human good. This also involved a re-connection with the practice of making music as embodied and natural.

At a third level it is worth emphasizing again how the revival of early music in the latter half of the twentieth century saw the coming together not just of people with different skills and behaviors - the ‘motley crew’ as Townley *et al.* (2009) describe them, but of people working across different domains of the cultural ecology - the arts, creative industries and everyday

²⁵ Christian Smith, *What Is A Person? Rethinking Humanity, Social Life, and the Moral Good from the Person Up* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2010); see also Christian Smith, *To Flourish or Destruct. A Personalist Theory of Human Goods, Motivations, Failure, and Evil* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2015).

²⁶ Smith, *To Flourish or Destruct*, 8.

creativity.²⁷ HP has brought together amateur and professional performers, musicologists and scholars, instrument makers, editors, copiers, producers, directors, broadcasters, critics, record company executives, festival organizers, entrepreneurs, employers and so on.

Finally, HP has also facilitated something of a re-awakening of awareness concerning our relations with nature. Whereas modern instruments need little more than being taken out of their cases, HP has often necessitated making instruments from scratch. We are reminded that music is ultimately about human beings interacting with their environment and things they find to bang, hit, scrape, blow etc.²⁸ Underneath the accumulated layers of sophistication, classical music remains primal and animalistic (a fact that the most accomplished musicians are very aware of, of course). Notwithstanding the manner in which HP has born aloft a wonderfully expanded repertoire of ethereal (disembodied) choral music, HP's influence in respect of instrumental music in particular has restored 'a right relationship with the Earth'.²⁹ This matters because – as I shall go on to argue – music is not an ideology or class-based practice *per se*, but a universal human good, and embodied aesthetic experience is central to what it is to be a flourishing human being. It also matters because we are reminded that 'technology' (very much at the heart of the early music revival, and now so central to how we 'do' culture more generally) is comprised of the meeting of persons, ideas, and material objects. The naturally embodied materiality of (music) technology is something we might easily lose sight of, given the increasing dominance of social media and digitally enabled communications of all sorts.

What is the problem today?

Within the specific context of HP today there are, of course, many 'problems' that are being tackled from a wide range of perspectives, positions, and levels of experience and skill. For example – the 2017 Historical Performance: Theory, Practice, and Interdisciplinarity conference at Indiana University included papers on 'the sound of (sixteenth century) music'; 'Between written and oral transmission: Improvisation and fixed musical content in Notre Dame Organa'; 'The fifteenth century bandstand: Improvised polyphony at court'; 'Pedaling in the keyboard language of Beethoven: An historical perspective'; 'The interface between facts, history and artistry: operationalizing historical performance research'; 'Lost voices: the aesthetics and practices of romantic-era choral performance', and much more besides. To the extent that one can refer to a unifying theme across these subjects, broadly speaking it concerns reviewing, exploring, exposing, or re-visiting the challenges of knowing about what *they* did then, and translating this into a practical agenda for what *we* do now. This is what makes HP distinctive today.

As I have so far argued, my focus on cultural capability similarly seeks to learn from the past. But within this perspective I would like to reflect more broadly on the current state of the classical music sector and a range of pressing concerns and issues that collectively constitute

²⁷ For more on this interdependency across the arts in general see David Micklem and Jo Hunter, *Everyday Creativity* (London: 64 Million Artists for Arts Council England, 2016); John Holden, *The Ecology of Culture* (London: Arts and Humanities Research Council, 2015); and Wilson *et al.*, *Towards Cultural Democracy*.

²⁸ For early music's 'detractors' this banging, hitting and scraping was perhaps *too* 'raw' (see Claude Lévi-Strauss, "Le Cru et le Cuit [The Raw and the Cooked]," *Mythologiques*, trans., John and Doreen Weightman, (Paris: Plon, 1964 [1969]).

²⁹ Patrick Curry, "Magic vs. Enchantment," *The Journal of Contemporary Religion* 14, no. 3 (1999): 411, doi: 10.1080/13537909908580878.

what might be considered a cultural crisis – albeit one that is unfolding slowly. In so doing I move beyond specific problems of performance practice and encourage critical reflection on our relationship with creativity and culture more generally. This gets at *who* gets to do culture, and under what circumstances – and is therefore very much about questions of substantive freedom and opportunity. In the final section of the paper we then look at what we can learn from HP in addressing some of the challenges raised.

“The 10 ‘P’s” – a slow-burning cultural crisis

More people than ever before have access to more music at affordable prices; more people are able to ‘do’ music, making use of equipment and democratizing digital technology that previous generations could barely have dreamed of. There are demonstrable benefits for music-lovers everywhere of living in this technology-enabled world, and cultural policy is typically geared towards increasing ‘access’ for those that are otherwise excluded from participating. However, a raft of (often invisible) social structures and institutions unduly limits how we go about music making as a society; and it is with these in mind that I introduce the word ‘crisis’. It should also be observed that crises are typically diagnosed after the event, not before (hindsight is a wonderful thing). What follows then, is a brief overview of ten key issues or challenges constituting this slow-burning crisis, abbreviated to “the 10 ‘P’s”:

i. Playground

We must begin with young children and their relationship with music. Here the spotlight falls on the opportunities they have (or don’t have) for cultural education and learning.³⁰ A recent online article for the BBC led with the headline ‘Music “could face extinction” in secondary schools’.³¹ The report went on to discuss a research project that showed music as a subject was being squeezed out of the curriculum in favor of other subjects. Whilst music was compulsory in 84% of secondary schools in 2012-13, this had reduced to 62% by 2016-17. Where music lessons are available they are increasingly at a charge, thus restricting access to only those children whose families can afford to pay. The somewhat sensationalist headline is not the only thing to warrant attention here. It is also the sense in which the argument being presented is one that has been aired for at least the last couple of decades without any obvious systemic change being implemented (one thinks in particular of Sir Ken Robinson’s *All Our Futures* report from 1999, which made a strong case for creativity in education more generally).

ii. Professionalization

Following on from the above, if it is the case that music education is increasingly offered only for those that wish to take it ‘seriously’ enough to develop a career, then the divide between the professional and the amateur is established at a very early age. Rather than seeing music as a universal human good, it becomes something specialist to be studied only by a small and talented minority. It is worth noting here that the tendency towards professionalization runs deep and has both good and bad implications. Of course, as audience members and a listening public, we want musicians to perform to the highest standards; but do we also want to see the de facto separation of musical production as a professionalized activity from a much broader engagement with music at many levels of ability and interest?

³⁰ It is helpful to distinguish between ‘cultural education’ – constituting children’s formal opportunities for learning about culture (primarily in schools), and ‘cultural learning’ – embracing many other informal routes, including through family and friends, local amateur groups, clubs, youth groups etc.

³¹ Judith Burns, “Music ‘could face extinction’ in secondary schools,” BBC News/Education, 9th March, 2017: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/education-39154242> [accessed 15th August, 2017].

This is one reason why I have drawn particular attention to the enabling amateur-professional relationship in the context of HP's cultural development.

iii. **Performativity**

In the United Kingdom, as elsewhere, the discourse of 'Excellence' underpins state support of the arts. Arts Council England's 'Goal 1' states 'We want to use our investment and expertise to encourage and support artistic and cultural excellence across the country.'³² Excellence is couched in terms of 'the height of ambition, talent and skill'. Who would deny the goal of supporting really great music, rather than the mediocre? However, there are very real issues about determining what counts as 'great'. Moreover, I suggest that the emphasis on excellence is more widely pervasive in a way that is potentially detrimental to the cultural vitality of a country. It is very striking to hear so many adults who learned musical instruments in their youth, for example, talk so defensively about their musical skills now; often this is expressed in terms of 'failure' and 'giving up'. Might it be that the over-arching narrative of excellence *per se* is over-rated? What if, instead, cultural policy focused on providing opportunities for all persons to find out what is excellent for themselves through co-creating versions of culture? This is not really as radical a suggestion as it might first appear; art, after all, is the primary domain of human life where we give form and value to our experiences.

iv. **Premium**

A necessary feature of musical education, and of extraordinary benefit to those lucky enough to have a great teacher, is the one-to-one tuition available at music colleges. This master-apprentice system comes at a cost, however.³³ The 'premium' funding model has long required music colleges to provide evidence of value for (public) money; however, it does this by asking questions about the proportion of students who go on to have professional careers as performers. As I know from personal experience, many students do not go on to have lasting jobs as professional musicians, but do establish successful careers in other areas (and not only teaching), which draw on the skills acquired through this specialist training. Unfortunately, it seems there is often little appetite for really understanding these connections in terms of transferrable skills; indeed, it could even be argued that there is an institutionalized level of denial, which is in part caused by the premium-funding model.

v. **Profile**

The inter-connected nature of the issues so far introduced continues here with the emerging 'profile' of the music business (embracing all genres), wherein Bourdieu's reference to the ideology of the 'charismatic creator' has its very real manifestation in the so-called 'superstar phenomenon'.³⁴ As Hans Abbing (2002) persuasively argues, the 'exceptional' economy of the arts sees a handful of super-star performers rewarded handsomely for their efforts, leaving the vast majority struggling to make ends meet (the title of his book *Why Are Artists Poor?* sums up his position very clearly). It will be apparent from what I have already discussed, however, that the exceptionality of the arts (including music, and now HP) is built in to the fabric of education and industry, right from the start.

vi. **Personnel**

³² <http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/our-mission-and-strategy/goal-1-excellence> [accessed 5th April, 2017].

³³ What is presented here is based on the UK model of specialist training; it may of less relevance in other countries.

³⁴ Sherwin Rosen, "The Economics of Superstars," *The American Economic Review* 71, no. 5 (1981): 845-858, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1803469>.

Many commentators have drawn attention to both the level of inequalities experienced across music (and the arts in general), and the characteristic denial of such. The development of cultural studies in the 1960s, pivoting around discussion of popular as well as high culture, has done much to cast a spotlight on the endemic levels of inequality across the arts.

Certainly in recent years there has been a notable increase in the academic attention given to issues of gender, class and ethnicity as areas of inequality in music. Some practices have changed as a result (e.g. blind auditions for orchestra members). However, the personnel working at leadership and senior management positions across music, and this includes HP, remains dominated by white, middle-class men.

vii. Psychic

Various commentators³⁵ have brought attention to the ways in which the neoliberal incitement to manage one's self as enterprise 'cuts across gendered, racialised and classed power dynamics', and 'raises questions about "psychosocial effects of neoliberalism"'.³⁶ Christina Scharff's recent study of female classical musicians takes the view that public discourses have positioned young women and cultural workers as 'twice positioned'... 'entrepreneurial subjects par excellence'.³⁷ She describes how they relate to themselves as if they were a business; they are constantly active but lack time; they actively embrace risks, manage difficulties, and, where necessary, hide injuries.³⁸ There is a high level of self-critique, which results in self-doubt and anxiety; there is also a culture of blaming 'others'. Here the reference to the 'psychosocial' or in Butler's (1997) terms, the 'psychic', emphasizes the sense in which social norms – especially those concerned with power and 'subjection' are internalized. Butler argues '...to the extent that norms operate as psychic phenomena, restricting and producing desire, they also govern the formation of the subject and circumscribe the domain of a liveable sociality'.³⁹ There are, then, very real concerns about the nature of the 'liveable sociality' that characterizes the music profession. According to Scharff's research, at least, it would seem that the balance between artistic autonomy and economic reality is certainly tipping too far in one direction.

viii. Precarity

Without question, the dominant critical discourse of the cultural sector is that of precarity. From unpaid internships, exploitative neoliberal or entrepreneurial subjectivities, through to lack of security, low pay and all the rest – the occupational hazards of working in music appear stacked against even the most talented and skilled. Within HP, freelance employment has been the norm. Of course, this does not put off the many aspiring young musicians who do enter advanced training and education. Despite over-supply, there is always the dream of 'making it' which drives the dedicated onwards, even in the face of the all-too obvious reality that this will not ultimately be the case. The field of cultural production is also a field of dreams; some dreams really do come true – but is this enough? Ultimately, of course, this is about the relative value society ascribes to music and the production of music.

ix. Pensioners

³⁵ See Lynne Layton, "Editor's Introduction to Special Section on the Psychosocial Effects of Neoliberalism," *Psychoanalysis, Culture & Society* 19, no. 1 (2014): 1-4; Renata Salecl, *The Tyranny of Choice* (London: Profile Books, 2011).

³⁶ Christina Scharff, "The Psychic Life of Neoliberalism: Mapping the Contours of Entrepreneurial Subjectivity," *Theory, Culture & Society* 33, no. 6 (2016): 109, doi: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0263276415590164>.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 109-110.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 108.

³⁹ Christina Butler, *The Psychic Life of Power* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 21.

For HP and classical music more widely, a major concern is the aging demographic of audiences. This is not a new issue; it has been around for years, if not generations. However, it does seem that the intensity of concern has grown. Evidently, the issue of ‘pensioner’ audiences is linked to the ‘playground’ issue raised at the top of this list. Notwithstanding what is going on in the educational sector itself (in respect to investment in teaching and time in the curriculum), if largely older people are attending concerts and buying classical music recordings, it means that fewer and fewer children and young people are being exposed to classical music. It also makes it more likely that those who will go on to work in the profession are themselves from musical families, or at least from backgrounds where music is a particular feature of home-life. It is easy to see how this creates a vicious cycle of exclusion.

x. Policy

The final ‘P’ in my list brings us to the over-arching responsibility of policy; but here I don’t just mean government policy-makers and the role of civil servants at national or local levels. Cultural policy, as Bell and Oakley (2014) have argued, is formed through the involvement of a wide range of stakeholders. The current thrust of cultural policy in the UK, at least, is summed up in Arts Council England’s mission of ‘great art and culture for everyone’. One way this has been described is in terms of the ‘democratization of culture’. The Arts Council’s £37m program Creative People and Places speaks to this agenda, proactively seeking to address ‘cold spots’ throughout the country where ‘great’ art and culture is not otherwise available. However, to its critics, this ‘deficit model’ continues to keep the inherent policy hierarchy of ‘excellence’ that plays a role in the cycle of exclusion already referred to.⁴⁰ Rather than calling for ‘the democratization of culture’ we should be working towards ‘cultural democracy’. This is an altogether different approach, which moves beyond the deficit model, and is characterized by promoting cultural freedom and opportunities (cultural capability) for everyone (cultural democracy).

The danger of ‘endism’ in HP

Asking ‘what’s the problem?’ in contemporary HP, one quickly finds discussion centers around two issues. The first is framed by the question of how ‘late’ HP should be taken.⁴¹ At a recent conference in Norway, for example, I found myself talking with an HP faculty member from a conservatoire in the Netherlands, who was currently working on historical performances of Schoenberg and the Second Viennese School. As she remarked ‘Why not?’ The second issue is a growing concern that HP has become (or is becoming) the new orthodoxy. Whilst HP pioneers in the latter part of the twentieth century necessarily backed up their performance with fresh scholarship – reading treatises and undertaking extensive archive research – today’s generation have a massive library of HP recordings and modern texts to follow. To the extent that HP is now the default for pretty much any classical music of Romantic or earlier eras, one might be forgiven for thinking ‘job done’. But this is precisely the sort of modernist triumphalist ‘endism’ that the HP movement was spurred into action to respond to in the first place. So, over and above the many historical performance

⁴⁰ See Eleonore Belfiore, “‘Defensive Instrumentalism’ and the Legacy of New Labour’s Cultural Policies,” *Cultural Trends* 21, no. 2 (2012), 1-9, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09548963.2012.674750>; David Stevenson, “What’s the problem again? The Problematisation of Cultural Participation in Scottish Cultural Policy,” *Cultural Trends* 22, no.2 (2013): 77-85, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09548963.2013.783172>.

⁴¹ Bruce Haynes argues that “‘Early Music’ is no longer Early”, and its name should be “Modern music”, but ‘this name is already taken’. Bruce Haynes, *The End of Early Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 11-12.

questions that we have yet to ask (let alone answer), we need to consider whether we as educators and performers are being sufficiently reflexive about HP? What are the challenging questions being asked in HP's name today?

What lessons can we learn from HP?

In considering then what we can learn from HP and the pioneers of the early music movement, and how this might help us respond to the slow-burning crisis just outlined, I return to the four themes introduced in the first section of the paper: problem-posing; historical reflexivity; real authenticity, and a relational perspective.

1. Problem-posing

The over-riding implication of the problem-posing approach, which I have argued very much characterizes HP, is that when faced with any situation of uncertainty or challenge those involved adopt a position of humility where they allow themselves 'not to know' – to risk and to play. This appears to run counter to the post-Enlightenment seam of rationality that encourages us to find solutions sooner rather than later. The premise I put forward here (albeit with a degree of modesty given the call 'not to know') is that HP's success in achieving cultural capability can be attributed, in part, to being prepared to hold a space for creativity open. On the face of it, this can be really difficult to do in a neoliberal culture of checks and balances. We have already noted the psychic costs involved in working as a (female) classical musician. However, we should be careful not to throw the proverbial baby out with the bathwater: for the field of entrepreneurship education has something worthwhile to contribute in this context. Since the late 1990s across Europe and the US, entrepreneurial education has been tailored to explicitly create spaces for creativity and hold these spaces 'open', even at the very time that such creative spaces across other key areas of education, including the arts & humanities and education have been increasingly 'closed down'. Examples of what I have in mind might include the focus within entrepreneurship-related courses in business schools (predominantly) that encourage students to explore their entrepreneurial personality traits (e.g., sense of achievement, autonomy, locus of control, self-efficacy), entrepreneurial management behaviours (e.g. resource-leveraging, networking, innovation), and effectual decision-making.⁴² Over and above whether these models and frameworks actually work, the important point here is that they create and hold a conceptual space open for exploring, probing and developing creativity in practice.

To the extent that we can't possibly know what the outcome of creativity is before the event, it is logically necessary to maintain a discursive and practical space where 'ex nihilo' novelty might emerge. I suggest that musicians know this to be true; a performance cannot succeed if it is over-worked or rationalized, for example. The irony I am drawing attention to, however, is that whilst the culture of entrepreneurship (education) has explicitly recognized this, and provided the practical conditions accordingly, the arts and education in general have been less able or willing to do so, arguably because they have increasingly succumbed to the neoliberalism that now dominates the field of Higher Education and arts practice. From my study of HP pioneers it is apparent that the likes of David Munrow, Michael Morrow, Christopher Hogwood, Trevor Pinnock, Roger Norrington, John Eliot Gardiner, Peter Phillips, Paul McCreesh in the UK, August Wenzinger, Gustav Leonhardt, Nikolaus Harnoncourt, Noah Greenberg, or Thomas Binkley, across Europe and the USA have been

⁴² See Saras Sarasvathy, *Effectuation* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2008); and David Stokes and Nick Wilson, *Small Business Management & Entrepreneurship* (Andover: Cengage, 2017) for further detail.

(in their various and distinctive ways) experts in holding the creative space open. Theirs is a lesson we can follow.

2. *Historical reflexivity*

Of course, asking questions about the past, where we have come from, and what we can learn from history – in this case about the performance of music, is not just central to HP, but what makes it distinctive. The launch of this new *Journal in Historical Performance* would never have come about without its instigators (and contributors) looking back, and ‘standing on the shoulders of giants’. It is fitting that Thomas Binkley, Indiana University’s Historical Performance Institute’s founder, made it ‘a primary goal that students should leave knowing how to think, explore, and above all ask questions of every kind of music-making in a ceaseless search for poetic essence.’⁴³ Poetic essence can be translated as creative being, and as such is quintessentially forward-looking. In this respect, it is vital not just to ask ‘Where have we come from?’; but also (as will no doubt appear many times in these pages over the years to come) ‘Where are we going?’ For departments, schools and faculties specialising in HP education and training this is an urgent task, especially in the light of my diagnosis of a slow-burning crisis in music.

3. *Real authenticity*

Turning now to the third of my themes – real authenticity – I am encouraged to ask ‘What do we expect from our HP professionals today? What *should* we expect?’ Though it is unfair to pick on Indiana University’s Historical Performance Institute again, it is illuminating to read its emphasis on collaboration, including across ‘the historiography of music, dance, and languages; the history of vocal and instrumental pedagogy, music theory, art, iconography, religion, and architecture; cultural and social history, philosophy, aesthetics, literary and textual criticism, paleography, the design and construction of historical instruments’.⁴⁴ The absence here of any explicit reference to creativity, management, entrepreneurship, innovation, each of which brings an extensive research discipline, and each of which has been so central to the development of HP in the modern era, is telling. On the one hand it comes as no surprise – Bourdieu’s (1993) ‘disavowal of the economy’ comes to mind. However, on the other hand, it begs some further questions of HP training and education.

Firstly, given the argument that entrepreneurship is nothing other than the process of realizing a creative (i.e. novel and valuable) project, and therefore tendentially *all* music and art projects are entrepreneurial, we need to give more thought to ensuring that our students – professionals of tomorrow – are equipped with the skills to act entrepreneurially – just as the pioneers of HP did. Here it is particularly helpful to think in terms of ‘creative citizens’⁴⁵ – individuals who do what is required to actualize new and valuable social spaces, energized through a desire to create and compete for the benefit of themselves *and* others. More colloquially, creative citizens – as ‘go-betweens’ – are the type of people who make new and valuable stuff happen. They make the phone-calls, arrange the rehearsals, bring and set up the music stands, put on the tea, sell tickets and so on. But, they are *also* leading the music, editing scores, putting in bowings, sharing a vision for how the music should sound, and performing to the highest level. Crucially, the creative citizen strives to achieve something of novelty and value, not just for themselves but with, and for, others. To me this sums up an aspect of the HP pioneers that can all too easily be overlooked or forgotten given the inevitable pull to explain their contributions primarily in musical terms. This is especially

⁴³ <http://music.indiana.edu/departments/academic/early-music/binkley.shtml> [accessed 24th February, 2017].

⁴⁴ <http://music.indiana.edu/departments/academic/early-music/new-name.shtml> [accessed 4th May, 2017].

⁴⁵ See Wilson *et al.*, *Towards Cultural Democracy*, 36-38.

important because much of our music education (especially at specialist level) is not geared towards this direction at all; rather it celebrates and even reifies ‘excellence’ within sharply defined parameters, to the extent where individual (neoliberal) careers are reproduced systemically.

The second thought then is about what our HP institutions should be doing in the light of the above? I am not arguing in some naïve way that student musicians should simply be told they need to be more entrepreneurial and then they’ll all leave music colleges and conservatoires with a different mind-set, and skills to match. Nor am I suggesting we bolt on entrepreneurship modules, just for the sake of it. I *am* suggesting, however, that a) we do need to change our mind-set; and b) we need to get better and smarter at providing the integrated practical support for music students to become entrepreneurial creative citizens *as well as* hugely talented and qualified musicians. This requires joining up – which brings me to my last theme.

4. Relational

In turning again to the relational approach of HP pioneers, and thinking about how we might learn from them, we might do well to reflect critically on the disconnected mode of argument and justification used by music educators and the industry to support and invest in music today. The debate between intrinsic and instrumental approaches to policy support is well known. It is clearly important for arts organizations to make the economic case to government – and the reasons for this are widely accepted.⁴⁶ However, in the light of my case for a slow burning crisis, we should be exploring ways of re-balancing the undue priority given to the instrumental economic agenda, and associated forms of value. This moves us beyond a socially constructed status quo – the happiness we derive from human well-being is (in some sense at least) specified and guided by the *real* nature of things, after all.

As already stressed, the role of technology in society in general is now ubiquitous; most of us can’t do without an iPhone or similar continuously available at the end of our arm; we feel ‘lost’ without one. Culture is ‘shared’ through the medium of social media. It is no longer at all surprising (at least to anyone under the age of 25) that one can access virtually any piece of music recorded at the touch of a button; we have never had so much ‘access’ to music than we do now. And yet, HP might offer an important lesson in how technology should play the role of the ‘servant’ rather than the ‘master’. In particular, we need to avoid here a triple dis-embedding of music from the music industry; the music industry from music education; and music education from music as a real human good. We would do well to consider the ways in which we join up music (or not) in our lives as part of a wider cultural ecology. As Daniel Barenboim notes ‘The power of music lies in its ability to speak to all aspects of the human being-the animal, the emotional, the intellectual, and the spiritual. Music teaches us, in short, that everything is connected’.⁴⁷ It is this connection that is increasingly coming under threat, but perhaps HP offers us a different tune?

Concluding thoughts

The ideas presented in this paper have necessarily been abstracted from the day-to-day reality of working in HP today. It could well be argued that not only is there no unified consensus on

⁴⁶ National systems of funding and support for the arts vary; for example, the ‘mixed’ model in the UK (i.e., partly supported by the public sector and partly by the private sector in the form of donations, funds, grants etc.) is distinct from the model in the US, where private philanthropy and associated tax breaks are central.

⁴⁷ Daniel Barenboim, *Everything is Connected* (London: W&N, 2009), back cover.

behalf of HP (nor has there ever been), but individual persons working in the field do not have any grand plans for it; there is no pretence for HP to do anything other than enable us perform and enjoy music more. This, it might be suggested, is ‘enough’. At the very least, however, I hope to have indicated that such a position relies on the benefit of hindsight, and what amounts to an inconsistent disinterest as to how we have arrived at where we are today – wholly at odds with the ethos of HP. Gaining a better understanding of the role of HP pioneers in this process of learning, speaks both to a liberating educational agenda – one that embraces entrepreneurial, but authentic, creative citizens, as well as the possibility of a wider ambition. To the extent that there really is a slow-burning crisis in music – and in the playful and creative spirit of ‘not knowing’ I would be only too happy to be found wrong about this – then wouldn’t it be good, at least, to be prepared to do something about it? In this respect, we can indeed learn from *them*, and as a result do better for ourselves, but crucially for others too. Through the discussion of this case-study I hope to have opened a creative space for HP to make a yet more telling and long-term contribution to our culture, and ultimately perhaps even to our cultural democracy.

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